DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 286 403 HE 020 658

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TITLE The White Presence at Traditionally Black Public Colleges and Universities: A Synopsis, 1837-1980.
PUB DATE [80]
NOTE 31p.; For a related document, see ED 224 379.
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrators; *Black Colleges; Black Teachers; Church Role; *College Administration; College Faculty; College Students; Donors; *Educational History; Higher Education; Philanthropic Foundations; Power Structure; *Public Colleges; *State Colleges; Trend Analysis; *White Students

ABSTRACT

The presence of whites at traditionally black public colleges and universities (TBPCUs) is examined for six periods: the pre-Civil War period, 1837-1859; the period of the educational missionary, 1860-1885; the period of reaction to white control, 1886-1916; the decade of the great philanthropists, 1917-1927; the era of the Bureau of Education, 1927-1954; and the desegregation era, 1954-1980. Two colleges for blacks were helped into existence during the pre-Civil War period by whites. During 1860-1885, several TBPCUs traced their origins to private colleges supported by a missionary group or extensions of the federal government's Freedman's Bureau. Most of these schools were administered and staffed almost entirely by whites. During 1886-1916, there was a new supply of black teachers, and land had been set aside by the U.S. Government for agricultural colleges. As colleges were started by several states or came under state control, they did not have as high a proportion of white faculty and administrators as did church-sponsored colleges. However, white influence on higher education for blacks remained high because of money provided by philanthropists. Consideration is given to colleges that were established during each period. (SW)

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THE WHITE PRESENCE AT TRADITIONALLY BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: A SYNOPSIS, 1837-1980

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THE WHITE PRESENCE AT TRADITIONALLY BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: A SYNOPSIS, 1837-1980

ABSTRACT

Though some are disquieted by the slow but steadily increasing white presence on the campuses of the thirty-four traditionally black public colleges and universitieis (TBPUCUs), the truth of the matter is that there has been few, if indeed, any time, during the history of the TBPCUs that the white presence -- whether visible or invisible, beneficial or malevolent -- has not been of inestimable influence on the development of these institutions.

This paper undertakes an examination of this premise throughout the six periods of TBPCUs, namely the Pre-Civil War Period, 1837-1859; the Period of the Educational Missionary, 1860-1885; the Period of Reaction to White Control, 1886-1916; the Decade of the Great Philanthropists, 1917-1927; the Era of the Bureau of Education, 1927-1954; and the Desegregation Era, 1954-1980; and concludes that the realities or dynamics of the interweave between the white presence and the TBPCUs be accepted, but not passively so, if control of the TBPCUs is to remain largely in the hands of blacks.

THE WHITE PRESENCE AT TRADITIONALLY BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: A SYNOPSIS, 1837-1980

INTRODUCTION

Since the enactment of Civil Rights legislation permitting the enrollment of white students at the 34 traditionally black public colleges and universities (TBPCUs) in 1965, the number of white students who have chosen to exercise this option ranges from dramatically high at several of these institituions to a mere handful or token few at others.[1] However, when the reported figures are studied on a year-to-year collective or aggregated basis, one easily drawn conclusion is that even though the attending whites still comprise but ten to twelve percent of the total student body at the TBPCUs this percentage has been slowly but steadily growing larger with each succeeding school year. And though this overall ten or twelve percent may be considered small in some quarters, a considerable amount of controversy has been raised as to whether this white student presence bodes for good or ill. And, as is more often the case than not, the zealots for each shade of opinion on this question can be divided into two main schools of thought.

On the one hand the optimist both black and white, welcome this "reverse integration" feeling that by this action both short and long range advantages will redound to the benefit of the TBPCUs. Short range benefit most frequently cited as coming in the wake of the white student presence are (1) increased financial support, and (2) its corollary, an improved academic program and climate. As a long range goal, those who welcome the integration of white student on black campuses feel that consequent to this new student-mix, more

tolerant attitudes will in turn eventually lead to the creation of an atmosphere more conducive to coping with the problems of living in a multi-racial and pluralistic society.[2]

On the other hand, those who are disquieted by the presence of white students see this flow of reverse integration as a threat to the uninterrupted continuance of the TBPCUs as a viable instrument for change in the black community. Furthermore, the supposedly more farsighted among this group, or those who supposedly have made careful study of the history of black and white relationship - of promises broken and of those fulfilled - warn rather ominously that the presence of white students of TBPCUs campuses are but the harbingers of encroachment that will brook no culmination until there has been a complete administrative takeover of these institutions by the white power structure. The most telling argument offered by the proponents of this view is, of course, the almost complete administrative takeover of formerly all-black public secondary schools.[3] In light of this awareness, it should therefore come as no surprise that the hardliners among those who share this view have given rise to a spate of articles and books auguring the constriction, if not outright demise, of the TBPCUs.[4]

The merits of each of these opposing views have been put forward by their protagonists, of which there are aplenty for each side, most cogently elsewhere, so to repeat them here seems quite unnecessary. However, in advancing their respective views, both factions appear blinded to the fact tha the white presence on the black campus is hardly a recent phenomenon. With particular reference to white youths attending college at institutions that were historically created for blacks, one finds upon reading the annals of the TBPCUs that even this current debate is not without its historical precedents.

If a brief of the author's positions is permitted at this point, it is this: There have been few, if any, moments at all in the evolution and development of the TBPCUs that they have been completely divorced or separated from the white presence, whether that presence was visible or invisible, and/or of beneficial or malevolent effect. By way of explanation, the white presence as a highly visible or overt influence on the development of the TBPCUs may be seen in the number of white founders, philanthropists, administrative officers, and faculty members who have assisted materially in the creation and nourishment of these institutions. By the invisible or more covert white presence as it relates to the TBPCUs, I would again include philanthropists, organizations, agencies, and institutions who have contributed to the uplift of the TBPCUs in various behind-the-scences anonymous ways. But more importantly, this white invisible presence also includes persons, organizations, agencies and institutions whose influence has had contravailing effects on the growth, well-being, and prosperity of the TBPCUs. A narrative of the care and feeding of the TBPCUs by this portion of the establishment is perhaps more noteable for its malevolent acts of commission and omission, so out of consideration for space and a seeming indifference of the white public and the apathy of the black public toward the oft-told-tale, only a summary of the deleterious effects wrought by contravailing influences perpetrated by the racist ideas of this group will be offered here. The first is the cultivation of an air of deliberate inattentiveness to the needs of the TBPCUs on the part of the legislative bodies, whose memberships continue to be predominantly white, an inattentiveness that has worked to the end that the TBPCUs have always had to assume the beggar's stance. Secondly, the fact that this posture of dependence has made for the imposition of but a pale carbon copy of white oriented programs of higher education upon the TBPCUs.

In that fuller accounts of the development of institutions of higher education for black Americans have been narrated elsewhere, the more limited argument chosen for this paper is that the white presence - whether visible or invisible, beneficial or malevolent - on the TBPCUs is not a recent phenomenon. In this synoptic account of the origins and continuance of the white presence on the TBPCUs, the narration is unfolded in six fairly distinct periods: (1) The Pre-Civil War Period, 1937-1859; (2) The Period of the Educational Missionary, 1860-1885; (3) The Period of Reaction to White Control, 1886-1916; (4) The Decade of the Great Philanthropists, 1917-1927; (5) The Era of the Bureau of Education, 1927-1954; and (6) The Desegregation Era, 1954-1980.

The Pre-Civil War Period, 1837-1859

Prior to the beginning of the Civil War in 1860, the comparatively few blacks who actually managed to received the rudiments of an education did so in very practical areas and for very utilitarian reasons. However, despite the severity of the restrictions placed on the education of blacks, 28 persons of color - by vent of herculean effort, uncommonly good fortune, the largesse and humanitarian spirit of white colonizationists, abolitionists, liberal churchmen, and the more wise, intelligent and benevolent slaveowners -actually managed to receive a college education. And though it is popularly believed that there were no institutions of higher education for blacks during the Pre-Civil War Period, two institutions were financially and materially helped into existence during this period by whites. The first, Cheyney State College, was initially founded as a school in Philadelphia in 1837 by a group of Quakers. The second, Lincoln University of Pennsylvania, was also founded during this period on the eve of the Civil War by the Presbyterian Church as Ashnum Institute in 1854.[5]

The Period of the Educational Missionary, 1860-1885

The second stage in the higher education of blacks has been referred to most appropriately as the period of missionary idealism. Many whites were very actively concerned with Negro education. Among these were wealthy individuals and humanitarian organizations who rallied to the cause and sent teachers south.[6] The reasons that the teachers left homes and families to face hardships and social ostracism vary widely, but their good intentions and their sincerity, as well as their very real contributions, have hardly been questioned by most scholars. However, one investigator who has looked closely into the problem feels that these missionary teachers "had more enthusiasm than knowledge," that they little understood the true nature of the task before them, and they aimed more toward transforming the Negroes than developing them.[7]

At any rate, several of the TBPCUs trace their origins to this period, being founded either as private institutions supported by one of the various missionary groups or as extensions of the federal government's Freedman's Bureau. Bowie State in Maryland provides an example of both. Founded in 1865 by the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People, Bowie received a "shot in the arm" in 1868 in the form of a grant from the Freedman's Aid Society which enabled the school to purchase a building from local Quakers. Bowie State also benefited financially in 1871 from a legacy left by Mr. Nelson Wells for the education of freed Negro children in Maryland.

Another school which had its beginning during this time is Morgan State in Baltimore which was founded in 1867 as the Centenary Biblical Institute with a white man, J. Emory Round, serving as its first president. The original purpose of this institution was to prepare young men for the Christian Ministry. A prominent couple, Dr. and Mrs. John F. Goucher, responded to this lofty

purpose by donating the lot on which a cornerstone for a new building was laid on June 16, 1880.

Fort Valley State College as it exists today represents the merger of two schools: the Fort Valley High and Industrial School in Fort Valley and the State Teachers and Agricultural College in Forsythe. The school at Forsythe was founded by William Merida Hobard under the sponsorship of the American Missionary Association, and C.W. Center, another white, was a frequent contributor to the school in its early years.

Fayetteville State University in Fayeteville, North Carolina, is rather unique in that it was established in 1867 by seven far-sighted and progressive blacks in the community. Even so, they were assisted in this venture by a white man who happened to be none other than General O. O. Howard himself, the commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau. The black founders purchased land and set up the organizational structure for the school, but General Howard erected the building and it was named Howard School in his honor.

In 1887, The American Baptist Home Mission Society founded Natchez Seminary, the predecessor of Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi. As in the case of Morgan State, Jackson was presided over by a white man, and by a succession of white presidents until well after the turn of the century. In fact, most of the schools founded during this early period were administered and staffed almost entirely by whites, a circumstance which eventually led to one of the first battles in what we have in modern times dubbed "the black power struggle".[8]

The Period of Reaction to White Control, 1886-1916

The years 1886-1916 are usually thought of as the period when education for blacks jelled or in more common parlance "came together." Schools were able to teach on a higher level than they formerly had. Some consolidated,

and all became better organized. However, despite these improvements, schools and colleges for blacks - then as now - remained poorly financed and meagerly equipped.[9]

The Period of Reaction to White Control is so named because it was during this time that many blacks began to chafe openly under the virtually all-white control of most of the black institutions. Blacks resented the patronizing attitudes of many of the whites as they became increasingly anxious to assume responsibility for their own affairs. Lending to this state of agitation was the fact that the trickle of black teachers was beginning to grow ever larger, and as teacher-training graduates they were anxious to begin teaching careers of their own. At the same time, the quality of whites who came south to teach in the TBPCUs began to noticeably decline. This sag in quality accompanied by a rising tide of racism in the south - and in the country as a whole - resulted in the stigmatizing and social ostracism of white teachers who taught blacks. But many white teachers, undeterred by stigma or social ostracism, continued to come south; however, many of those who came during this period did so not as much in the humanitarian spirit of their predecessors, but often merely to find employment. Indeed, as some have put the case these teachers were frequently those who had difficulty obtaining positions elsewhere.[10] In summary of the foregoing, it may be said, that the new supply of black teachers and the generally lower quality of white teachers, combined with the fact that thousands of acres had been set aside by the government for agricultural colleges in the Morrill Land Grant Act, were directly or indirectly responsible for the establishment of Alcorn, South Carolina State, Alabama A&M and North Carolina A&T.

In the case of Alcorn, as early as 1870, a district secretary of the American Missionary Association reported that some blacks in Mississippi were

dissatisfied with white control in Tougaloo and pressured the state legislature to create a college especially for them where "nobody but themselves would run the machine."[11] In response to this demand, the very next year the state purchased a defunct white school and set it aside for the education of Mississippi's black citizens. The institution was named for James L. Alcorn, who was the governor of Mississippi at the time. Later, in 1878, the legislature declared Alcorn University to be an agricultural college for the education of the black youth of the state, and to be hereafter known as the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College of the State of Mississippi.

South Carolina State College also seems to have been established as a kind of reaction of white control. Prior to the founding of South Carolina State, on a site literally next-door to Claflin College, the state had contributed minimally to the financial support of Claflin, a Methodist institution. However, in 1895, the State Constitution Convention responded to pressures from blacks who were unhappy with the situation at Claflin by enacting provisions authorizing the legislature to create South Carolina State College and to sever any interest with Claflin.

Thus, as institutions were established by the several states or came under state control during this period, they often did not have the high representation of white on the faculty and in the administration that the church-sponsored institutions continued to have. With nearly all black presidents and a few black teachers, the TBPCUs presented at least a "facade of black control."[12]

In fleshing out this idea a bit more, practically all authorities since DuBois have been quick to point that this so-called black control was merely a facade[13]. A finding that has even been upheld by Jencks and Riesman who concede in their study of publicly suported higher education for blacks in the

United States that, "Regardless of their clientele or nominal purpose, public-Negro colleges have been white financed and white controlled."[14] All of the institutions were dependent upon predominantly white legislatures for financial support, a support which was never very generous, and at times it was downright capricious. History records that on at least one occasion, even a state supreme court got into the act. In 1887, the institution now known as Alabama State University was involved in a tiff over such a seemingly insignificant detail at the name of the school, and this resulted in a year's loss of operating funds. The school was originally founded as "The State Normal School and University for Colored Students and Teachers," but in 1887 the legislature changed the name to "The Alabama Colored Peoples' University." However, in February, 1888, the Alabama Supreme Court ruled that public funds could not be used to support the school as a university, and state support of the school was withdrawn until the next year when the name was again changed, this time to "The State Normal School for Colored Students."[15]

North Carolina A&T also represents another good example of who really "called the plays." NCA&T began operation in 1890-1891, an entire term before the law creating it was passed. This was because the Morrill Act earmarked funds for bi-racial school systems and the A&M College for whites in Raleigh was established and ready to receive its share of funds in 1889. Legally, however, they could not do so until similar facilities were available to blacks. Resolution of this problem was found when the board of trustees in Raleigh was granted power to make temporary arrangements for the black agricultural and technical students. A plan was worked out with Shaw University in Raleigh, and NCA&T operated as an annex to them until 1894. Thus, North Carolina A&T has the dubious distinction of being established originally as a convenience to white students. However, to their credit whites figured very

prominently in the early development of NCA&T. James William Scott donated land for the building of the institution in Greensboro, and E. R. Hodgin, whom Victor Brown says was inextricably connected with the physical expansion of the school was the business manager of North Carolina A&T for many years.[16]

The Decade of the Great Philantropists, 1917-1927

The appellation used most often for the fourth division of higher education for blacks and the influence of whites on that process is "the age or decade of the great philanthropists." This movement seems to have had its roots in the practical, conciliatory educational philsophy expressed by Booker T. Washington. Washington materially influenced the establishment of the Phelps-Stokes Fund which in turn financed an exhaustive and enlightening survey of education for blacks. When the survey was completed in 1917, it ushered in a new era in the education of blacks by focusing national attention on its sad plight. This measure brough relief in the form of money and administrative know-how from many private philanthropic foundations. It also engendered interest in the question of education for blacks among many state legislators in the South. Some consequences of this interest was the establishment of Albany State in Albany, Georgia, and what is now North Carolina Central University in Durham, North Carolina.[17]

On the darker side of this decade's ledger, the observation may also be made that even through the physical presence of the white man of TBPCU campuses was diminished in number, his influence on every aspect on higher education for blacks reached its zenith. This was so because the huge grants of money provided by the philanthropists were as custom and law dictated, administered by white southerners, and by pursestring controlling legislative bodies which no longer even had the token representation of blacks that had been the case during the period of reconstruction. In sum, the white dominance of higher education for blacks literally affected every aspect and phase of the TBPCUs.

The decade of the great philanthropists also gave witness to an opportunistic Booker T. Washingtion advancing the theory that education for blacks should concentrate on technical and manual training rather than on more scientific and classical types of educational programs and a correspondingly enthusiastic acceptance of his ideas by whites in both the North and South. A prime reason as to why industrial education became so popular and its chief protagonist lionized may lie in what the late Henry Allen Bullock called the "intentional and unintentional accidents of history."[18] Bullock theorizes that it was not the intention of whites to ever educate blacks, but finding themselves in a situation brought on by a series of unintentional historical accidents, were afraid not to educate blacks to the point that they could not be gainfully employed; but on the other hand, they did not want to educate them so much as to make them social equals and economic competitors. Industrial education suited these criteria perfectly and thereby became the intentional education for blacks.[19]

On this point, evenhandedness prompts me to say that the educational appeal of Washington's ideas was attractive to many blacks as well. So appealing, as a matter of fact, was Washington's philosophy to some Louisiana blacks that as early as 1901 the Farmer's Relief Association of Ruston, Louisiana, authorized three men to write Washington requesting a man to help them start an industrial school. Washington's compliance with this request marked the beginning of Grambling College which was patterned after Tuskegee Institute in both curriculum and means of support. In 1918, Grambling came under the auspices of the county and finally became a state institution in 1928.

Much has been written elsewhere about the history and effects of this lean toward industrial education and away from more classical education programs, so suffice it to say that the now oft-heard charge of irrelevancy in education, the mis-education and/or the undereducation of blacks is again not unique to the present generation, for in 1933, Carter Woodson critized a philanthropist who envisoned establishing a univrsity based on the ideas of theorists whom he described as people with advanced degrees, but who have lost touch with the lives and needs of black people.[20]

Jencks and Reisman, in yet another concession, calls attention to the fact that the scope of land-grant colleges was extremely limited partly because state legislators saw them mainly as institutions for making Negro girls into teachers.[21] But apparently these legislators were not alone in this opinion, for it is a matter of record that administrators of the Peabody Fund definitely preferred establishing normal schools oriented toward teacher training rather than endorsing the organization of curricular programs that would have required broader-based colleges and universities. This philosophical preference directly affected the development of institions such as Fayetteville, Elizabeth City, and Winston-Salem State Universities.

The Era of the Bureau of Education, 1927-1954

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven marks the beginning of the fifth era in the history of the TBPCUs, for it was about this time that the United States Bureau of Education published its influential Survey of Negro Colleges.[22] This survey reported on the accomplishments made during the preceding periods and helped to set the stage for the accreditation of black colleges. The Southern Association, which was then and is now the primary white accrediting agency, was persuaded to inspect black colleges and universities and to publish a list of those which met minimum standards for accreditation. However,

because the schools were for blacks, they were not admitted to full membership in the association. In lieu of full membership, the gambit used was to place the black schools on an approved list. The effect of this manuever was to deny recognition of several blacks colleges and universities as being full-fledged institutions of higher learning.

Another malevolence of inestimable importance in stunting the development of the TBPCUs was the inexorable amount of pressure placed on the presidents and other highly placed authorities in these institutions. During this era, the presidents of the TBPCUs were faced with the seemingly impossible task of keeping the white legislators happy while at the same time attempting to serve the needs of black students and black communities in the most effective way possible.

During this period the push for accreditation again caused the level of tension between blacks and white to rise to renewed heights. The toadying and placating made necessary for job security led, in its turn, to a very authoritarian atmosphere on most of the TBPCU campuses - a situation which contributed little to the encouragement of neither democratic development or free academic thinking. The presidents were often forced by their precarious situation to involve themselves with all sorts of administrivia which ordinarily would have been considered beneath the dignity of presidents in white institutions. These unbecoming manners of behavior and their consequences were of course explained away as being the necessary modus operandi to maintain the required delicate balance between the races and the amount of state appropriation monies sought and the amount of state appropriation monies gained.

What's more, in an effort to meet standards for accreditation, the TBPCUs had to look beyond the limits of their own race for people to fill the faculty positons, as there were not enough properly creditialled blacks to

fulfill the requirements set by the accrediting agencies. While this requirement did not appreciably increase the number of white faculty members in the schools in the deep south because whites were forbidden by Jim Crow Laws to teach in black schools, it did increase the multi-racial and multi-ethnic composition of the faculties of a few northern TBPCUs to an extent unmatched by any northern, mid-western or western predominantly white institutions. Thus, the cosmopolitan character of the faculties of the several TBPCUs may in part be traced to the influence of white accreditation agencies.

In concluding this sketch of higher education for blacks during this nearly thirty year period, awareness of the importance of increased educational opportunity for blacks was engendered by the Bureau of Education and three TBPCUs were organized. In 1935, Norfolk State University was established as a unit of Virginia Union to meet the need for a junior college for blacks in the Norfolk-Portsmouth area. Mississippi Valley State in Itta Bena, Mississippi, was authorized by the legislature in 1946 and opened in 1950, and the old Houston College in Houston, Texas, became Texas Southern University in 1947.

The Desegration Era, 1954-1980

Since the publication of Holmes' Evolution of the Negro College in 1934, the black schools have entered still another era. This most recent period began in 1954 with an epoch-making decision of the Supreme Court, and has been dubbed by Wiggins, et al, as the "Desegration Era."[23]

Although seven of the ten predominantly black colleges and universities located in the border state were already desegregated when the famous "Brown Decison" was handed down, none of the TBPCUs in the Deep South were. Ten years later in 1964, all public black colleges in the border states had desegregated and fifteen of those in the Deep South had enrolled a limited number of

students. Today, of course, all of the TBPCUs are desegregated, and the white presence increases in magnitude as advantage is taken of "reverse integration."[24]

A statistic that is perhaps even more significant for the future role of these institutions is that a whopping 80% of black students are currently enrolled in predominantly white colleges and universities.[25] My surmise is that while the TBPCUs will continue to educate a large number of black students who have little or no access to other institutions, they obviously must adjust to the fact that increasing numbers of young blacks have other options and are choosing to take advantage of them. To meet this challenge the TBPCUs must be prepared to broaden their scope, strengthen their programs, and take all steps necessary to meet the growing competition from white institutions. One of the most obvious ways to meet his challenge is to recruit more white students.[26]

To those who look with askance upon such advice, it should be said that when compared with the reactions of whites when blacks integrated previously all white institutions, the "reverse integration" process has been relatively unremarkable. In other words, there has been virtually no violence.[27] The experience of Louis E. Williams at Coppin State College in Baltimore seems to have been quite typical. Williams felt that after the first semester of his attendance, he was accepted as "just another student."[28] From the foregoing and countless other interviews it may be reasonably conjectured that the current mix of students on campuses of the TBPCUs will help to shatter the stereotyped images commonly held by both races. This view is perhaps best summed up by Virgil Clift who said that this student-mix is a new dimension of a liberal education, no matter how medievel the curriculum itself may be.[29] However, with the reemergence of white students and faculty on the campuses of the TBPCUs[30] - in the latter instance the count has swollen from 8 percent in 1955[31] to 39.9 percent in 1975[32] - these figures speak far more eloquently

than words of the continuing inextricableness of the TBPCUs and the white presence. These figures may be taken as further evidence that there will be no bill of divorcement between the TBPCUs and the white presence in the foreseeable future.

In light of all the above, my own observation and assessment of the white presence on the TBPCUs, after more than a fifteen-year study of the matter, is that among the white students present, like black students, are some whose level of intrinsic motivation and thirst for knowledge is the answer to a teacher's fondest dream. Between these persons of highest mental acuity and industry and those who are slothful dimwits and intellectual dodoes by anybody's standards, are those who make up the middle ground of the continium on any and every scale of judgmental characteristic. About the white faculty at the TBPCus again much the same may be said; like the black faculty, there are whites who are scholarly, thoughful and research-oriented in addition to being empathetic, imaginative and innovative teachers. My experience further leads me to belive that the abilities of most white teachers at the TBPCUs, like black teachers, fall within the middle range of dedication to truth and academic excellence.[33] Albeit unfortunate, and especially so for the the students being taught, the symmetry of teaching abilities among white teachers at TBPCUs, like black teachers, is completed by those godawful tunnel-vissioned instructors whose seeming main interest lies in watching time (clock and calendar) go by and serving as decorative or credentialled pieces for accrediting agencies.

In concluding this synopsis of the white presence and the TBPCUs, it is hoped that this acount will be viewed as a balanced appraisal of the past and current situation, but even so, at least one question should remain uppermost in the minds of concerned blacks. The question, as I see it, may be posed in

the following manner: "Does this new incursion of the white presence on the black campus represent little else but the opening gambit of white patronization and pernicious influence that will lead eventually to a white administrative takeover of the TBPCUs?" In answer to this question, the safest and truest response that can be ventured at this writing is that -- only time will tell. Time, however, should not be passively waited upon; time and the preservation (and enhancement) of the TBPCUs in the hands of blacks may be assisted best by a wise administration of these institutions by their present leaders today, tomorrow, and all the tomorrows that follow.

NOTES

[1]Advancement Newsletters, (Atlanta: Office of Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, 1969-Present); Charles I. Brown, The White Student on the Black Campus. (Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, 1973); Charles I. Brown and Phyliss R. Stein, "The White Student in Five Predominantly Black Universities," Negro Educational Review, 23 (October 1972) 148; Andrew H. Callaway, "Integration in Reverse: Going From Black to Black and White," College and University Business. (February 1972) 59; "More White Students are Enrolling in the South's Public Black Institutions", Regional Action, 28:8 (July 1977) 4; Racial, Ethnic and Sex Enroll ment Data From Institutions of Higher Education-Fall 1976, (Washington: U.S. Dept. of hew/OCR, April 1978).

[2]"Chancellor of NCCU Tells Board About UNC Controversy", The Carolinian, (June 28, 1979) 6; Paul M. Decker, "A Study of White Teachers in Negro Colleges, "Journal of Negro Education, 24:4 (1955) 501' Ada M. Elam, "Two Sides of the Coin: White Students in Black Institutions," Journal of The National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, 41:2 (Winter 1978) 57; Stephen R. Graudbard, ed., "The Future of the Black Colleges," Daedalus, 100 (Summer 1971). E. Holsandolph, "Black Colleges are Worth Saving," Fortune. (October 1971) 106; N.R. Klienfield, "The New Minority," Wall Street Journal, (April 25, 1972) 1; James E. Lyons, "Segregated Colleges: The Case for the Black College," Southern Exposure, 12 (Summer 1979) 134; Lewis B. Mayhew, "Neighbor-Black and White Colleges: A Study in Waste," Educational Record, 52 (Spring 1971) 159; Benjamin E. Mays, "Black Colleges: Past, Present, and Future," The Black Scholar, (September 1974); Nancy V. Standley, White Students

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[27]Candor requires me to say that when white students reintegrated the colleges from which they had been juridically excluded, the levels of violence reported reached little more than mutterings and the flinging of harsh names. However, for accounts of life-endangering confrontations when predominantly white colleges were integrated by blacks, see James Meredith, Three Years in Mississippi. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); "Bargain With the Devil: Negro Applicants at University of Alabama," Newsweek, 61 (June 10, 1963) 30; "Origins of the University of Georgia Faculty Resolutions of January 12, 1961," Negro History Bulletin, 25 (April 1962) 151; "Though the Heavens Fall: Race Riot at University of Mississippi," Time, 80 (October 12, 1962) 19.

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APPENDIX A

THE TBPCUs - PERIOD AND YEAR FOUNDED, FOUNDING AGENCY AND RACE OF FIRST AND CURRENT PRESIDENT

Pre-Civil War Period, 1837-1859

Institution	Year Founded	Founding Agency	First President	Current President
Cheyney State College	1837	Quakers (W)	White	White
Lincoln University (PA)	1854	Presbyterian (W)	White	White
Period of the Educational Missionary, 1860-1885				
Alabama A & M	1875	State Legislature	Black	Black
Alabama State	1874	State Legislature	Black	Black
Arkansas State	1873	State Legislature	Black	Black
Bowie State	1865	White Civic	White	White
Fayetteville State	1877	Black Civic	Black	Black
Florida A & M	1877	State Legislature	White	Black
Jackson State	1877	Baptist (W)	White	Black
Lincoln University (MO)	1866	Black Civic	Black	Black
Morgan State	1876	Methodist (W)	White	Black
Prairie View A & M	1876	State Legislature	Black	Black
Southern University	1879	State Legislature	Black	Black
Virginia State	1882	State Legislature	Black	Black
Period of Reaction to White Control, 1886-1916				
Albany State	1903	Black Civic	Black	Black
Bluefield State	1896	State Legislature	White	White
Central State	1887	African Methodist Epis.	Black	Black
Coppin State	1900	City of Baltimore	White	Black
Delaware State	1891	State Legislature	White	Black
Elizabeth City State	1891	State Legislature	Black	Black
Fort Valley State	1895	Black and White Civic	White	Black
Grambling State	1901	State Legislature	White	Black
Kentucky State	1886	State Legislature	White	Black

During this period many blacks began to chafe openly to gain administrative control of the TBPCUs. This effort not only met with some success, and the following schools were established as well.

Appendix A (continued)

Period of Reaction to White Control, 1886-1916 (Continued)

Institution	Year Founded	Founding Agency	First President	Current President
Langston University	1897	State Legislature	Black	White
U. Md. Eastern Shore	1886	State Legislature		Black
North Carolina A & T	1891	State Legislature	Black	Black
North Carolina Central	1910	Black Civic	White	Black
Savannah State	1890	State Legislature	White	Black
South Carolina State	1896	State Legislature	White	Black
Tennessee State	1912	State Legislature	Black	Black
West Virginia State	1891	State Legislature	Black	Black

The Decade of the Great Philanthropists, 1917-1927

No TBPCUs were established during this decade. The most notable occurance was that Booker T. Washington, by precept and example, was able to convince philanthropists such as William Henry Baldwin, Andrew Carnegie, Anna T. Jeanes, George F. Peabody, John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, John F. Slater, etc., to contribute to black educational institutions. Among others, this decade also saw the establishment of the Rural School Fund and the Southern Education Board.

Era of the Bureau of Education, 1927-1954

The most telling event during this era was the publication of the Survey of Negro Colleges by the United States Bureau of Education. This survey reported on the accomplishments made during the preceding periods and helped to set the stage for the accreditation of black colleges and the creation of several new ones.

Mississippi Valley State	1946	State Legislature	Black	Black
Norfolk State	1935	Black Civic	Black	Black
Texas Southern	1947	State Legislature	Black	Black

Appendix A (continued)

The Desegregation Era, 1954-1980

Compared with the reactions of whites when blacks integrated previously all-white schools, the "reverse integration" process proved to be relatively unremarkable.

Again, as during the Decade of the Great Philanthropists, no institution was established during this period designed solely for blacks, however, because of geographical location there are now 42 traditional institutions, publicly and privately controlled, that have been re-designated as New Predominantly Black Colleges (NPBCs) by virtue of these institutions' full-time enrollment being more than 50 percent black. Among the public supported four-year NPBC institutions are the Medger Evers branch of the City University of New York, the Harris Teachers College in St. Louis, the University of the District of Columbia, and the College of the Virgin Islands in St. Thomas.